

Routes to tour in Germany

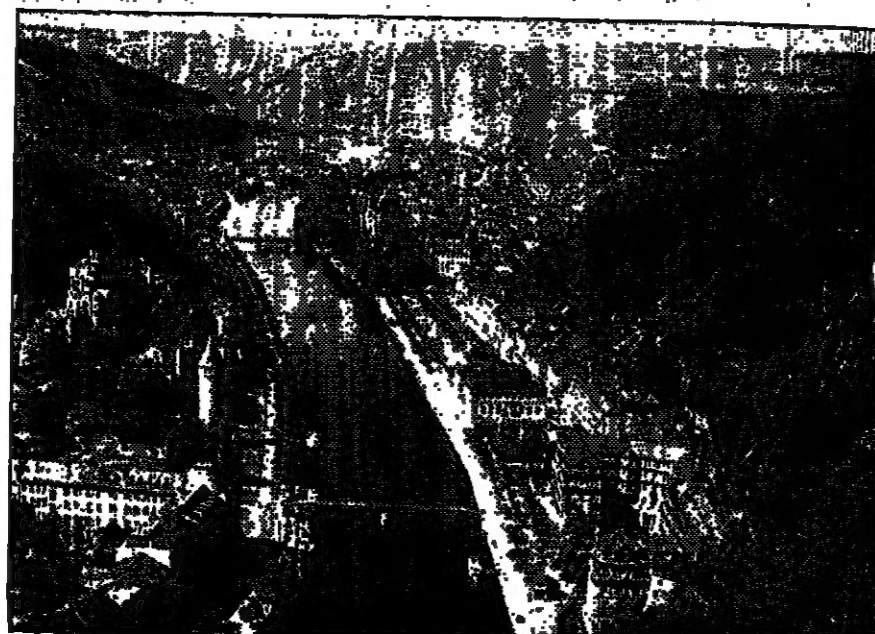
The Spa Route

German roads will get you there, say to spas and health resorts spread not all over the country but along a route easily travelled and scenically attractive. From Lahnstein, opposite Koblenz, the Spa Route runs along the wooded chain of hills that border the Rhine valley. Health cures in these resorts are particularly successful in dealing with rheumatism and gynaecological disorders and cardiac and circulatory complaints. Even if you haven't enough time to take a full course of treatment, you ought to take a look at a few pump rooms and sanatoriums. In Bad Ems you must not miss the historic inn known as the *Wirtshaus an der Lahn*. In Bad Schwalbach see for yourself the magnificent *Kurpark*. Take a walk round the Kurpark in Wiesbaden and see the city's casino. Elegant Wiesbaden dates back to the late 19th century Wilhelminian era.

Visit Germany and let the Spa Route be your guide.

- 1 Wiesbaden
- 2 Schlungenbad
- 3 Bad Ems
- 4 Bad Schwalbach

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Ceasefire, not peace, at World Bank meeting

Süddeutsche Zeitung

It would have been unreasonable to expect harmony and general agreement among the 150 countries in Washington for the annual conference of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

The gap between industrialised and developing countries is a longstanding one, and in the run-up to the conference the atmosphere was worsened by striking clashes between the industrialised states.

The United States took the Federal Republic of Germany and, in particular, Japan to task with unusually strong words.

If the twin "locomotives" of the international economy failed to "give" world trade a fillip by lowering interest rates and boosting growth it would be virtual-

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The next edition of THE GERMAN TRIBUNE will appear on 19 October

ly impossible to stem the tide of protectionism in the United States.

Germany having failed on several occasions to reduce Bundesbank lending rates, US Treasury Secretary James Baker said, with a shrug of the shoulders, that exchange rates, i.e. a further decline in the exchange rate of the dollar, would have to regulate matters.

Dollar devaluation is the sore point in the system. Exporters such as Germany or Japan stand to forfeit export earnings, while America would gain nothing from a falling dollar if inflation were to increase as a result.

Mr Baker has since intimated that he has no intention of talking the dollar's exchange rate down any further.

The protagonists may not have reconciled and embraced each other in Washington but they did show greater understanding for the other side's arguments.

This was shown by the communiqué issued by the Group of Seven, the seven

leading industrialised countries, even though Germany and, even more so, Japan were still called on to reduce interest rates and stimulate growth.

Face-saving may be the name of the game, but the debate has grown more sober and level-headed.

The latest report of the Congressional Joint Economic Committee, for instance, makes the point that boosting the German and Japanese economies could bring about only a marginal improvement to America's current account deficit.

The German Finance Minister, Gerhard Stoltenberg, has sought to persuade his opposite numbers that growth in the Federal Republic leaves little to be desired.

True, using US methods of calculation the performance of the German economy improved from a two-per-cent decline in the first quarter of 1986 to a bumper eight-per-cent increase in the second quarter.

Manuel Johnson, deputy head of the Fed, frankly admits there is no need for change in German economic policy. So Herr Stoltenberg found greater understanding than ever in the Group of Seven for his argument that interest-rate reductions and economic pump-priming are not called for at present.

But the situation is one of cease-fire, not peace. Understanding is a far cry from approval. The problem of protectionism in America has yet to be resolved.

Mr Baker may well feel that the dollar and its exchange rate is an economic

factor and cannot be allowed to decline aimlessly. Yet the United States undertook no binding commitment at the IMF conference, let alone promised to intervene. In the short term it looks as though everyone but the Americans is going to try and offset exaggerated fluctuation in foreign exchange markets. There is no immediate plan of action, merely readiness to confer in an emergency, as happened when the Plaza arrangement was reached two years ago. Agreement was reached to stem the tide of a high-flying dollar exchange rate, not



Bonn President von Weizsäcker (left), is greeted by Norwegian Prime Minister Brundtland during his state visit to Norway. Centre is King Olav. (Photo: AP)

Von Weizsäcker grasps need for sensitivity

Nordwest Zeitung NWZ

German politicians still need to consider various emotions, memories and scepticism in some countries invaded by Hitler even 40 years afterwards.

Particularly small neighbouring countries where the jackboots of the Third Reich ruthlessly stamped on international law and protestations of neutrality.

Holland, Denmark and Norway, for instance have not forgotten.

Federal President Richard von Weizsäcker has shown himself to be almost without equal in appreciating such feelings and, what is more, in saying and doing what is right in the right place and at the right time as a result.

His address to the Bundestag on the 40th anniversary of VE Day and the end of Nazi rule proved the point and more than threw doors open to him on his state visit to Norway; many of his engagements were dedicated to both reconciliation and reconciliation.

Official visits by heads of state may not primarily serve specific political purposes, but they still give expression to the political wishes and intentions of hosts and visitors alike.

Where relations between Bonn and Oslo are concerned, they go further than the mutual desire to nurse and tend the normal political relations that have prevailed for years.

Hohle Opta: (Nordwest Zeitung/Oldenburg, 25 September 1986)



WASHINGTON Secretary of State Shultz (right) with Bonn Foreign Minister Genscher. They were in New York for the general assembly meeting. (Photo: AP)

Summit meetings between the world's leading statesmen are generally felt always to serve a useful purpose, just as disarmament agreements are felt to make peace safer.

Irrespective of these established beliefs, a sound case to the contrary can be made out on both counts.

Summit meetings may be of value at the outset of a process of political rapprochement, with statesmen assuring each other of their desire to arrive at an understanding and drawing up a programme by which to come to terms.

The energy expended on the first Reagan-Gorbachov summit has been enough to sustain the momentum of a plethora of talks between the superpowers.

But summit meetings are mainly personal in character. They often thoughtlessly override the interests and prevailing forces behind the statesmen in the limelight, leading to misunderstanding and miscalculation.

This is a particularly distinct possibility during a period of summit diplomacy — a succession of summits held on the assumption that they might make per-

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

odic headway on issues that defy classic diplomacy.

What, for instance, have European summit meetings really achieved in the final analysis, especially bearing in mind that they are allies?

The truth is often that the personal prestige involved in summit meetings (a factor of equal importance in democracies and dictatorships, although not such a matter of life and death in the former), leads to complicated preliminary manoeuvres and changes of position, bluffs and counter-bluffs, that tend to confuse relations between the powers.

Summit meetings suddenly develop a strange life of their own. Like a phantom they appear everywhere, sometimes seeming a distinct possibility, at others seeming less likely.

Concessions are either offered or demanded, having previously occurred to no-one yet suddenly seeming indispensable preconditions for the very holding of a summit meeting.

There has been no lack of manoeuvring of this kind in connection with the proposed and repeatedly postponed second summit meeting between President Reagan and Mr Gorbachov.

Few summit meetings have been real-

WORLD AFFAIRS

Summit meetings, phantoms with a life of their own

ly instrumental in bringing about important and effective agreements.

Much the same can be said of the assumption, held to be self-evident, that disarmament agreements always help to preserve peace.

Arms imbalances that upset the balance of power are risky; so are imbalances in disarmament and arms control agreements in the context of security policy.

They are risky even if one of the contracting parties as much as gains the impression of having been caught off balance.

Agreements can in such circumstances even speed the pace of an arms build-up, with parties transferring their attention to areas not covered by the terms of the agreements in question.

This was exactly what happened after the signing of Salt 2, which although it never formally came into force was intended to be upheld by both sides.

The emergence of medium-range missiles and the strong conventional arms build-up that accompanied it on both sides spoke volumes.

Salt 2 is a striking example in another respect: one of disarmament agreements not being based on firm foundations when the contracting parties lack confidence in each other.

Salt 2 wasn't ratified by Congress because President Carter could no longer rely on a sufficient fund of goodwill after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

Given the complicated nature of the subject matter, no disarmament agreement can be made so foolproof as to be self-enforcing, as it were.

The accompanying political behaviour of the contracting parties in the overall context of mutual relations must prompt a feeling of certainty that both sides are resolved to abide by the terms agreed.

When Salt 1 was signed, in President Nixon's days at the White House, the United States and the Soviet Union drew up a code of behaviour that was to govern relations between the superpowers and required them to exercise restraint at times of international crisis.

After the collapse of the Vietnam agreement and the intervention — by proxy — of Cuban troops in Angola the code of behaviour was a mere scrap of paper.

It would come as a surprise if any such package were to be agreed in Washington.

A further blockade is the likelier prospect; it would intensify the debtor countries' unfortunate desire for an overall solution amounting to further financial assistance along watering-can lines.

Over \$400bn is at stake, owed by the main debtor countries alone, so it is easy to see why economically powerful countries such as Japan have lately shown readiness to replenish the funds of the IDA, a World Bank subsidiary that lends money to the poorest countries.

Rich countries are keen to keep out of the firing-line.

Otto Schwarzer
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich,
29 September 1986)

Viewed from this angle, the Salt 2 terms later negotiated by President Carter were no more than an inadequate attempt to come to terms in arms control on what had long been forfeited by way of political confidence.

The Salt 2 treaty thus failed to usher in a fresh round of disarmament agreements. Instead it marked an end to disarmament bids for the time being.

When a realistic view is taken of the current situation it will be agreed that a number of interim disarmament agreements are feasible that might make a Reagan-Gorbachov summit possible.

Or vice-versa. A summit meeting might pave the way for such interim agreements. But time is growing short, and not just for negotiators entrusted with laying the groundwork.

President Reagan is nearing the end of his second and final term. Any new and really important disarmament agreement needs Congressional approval.

On matters that could be paramount for national security for some time Congress will only play ball with an outgo-

Reagan UN speech marks better East-West climate



We still don't know whether President Reagan and Mr Gorbachov will meet this year in America as planned.

Either way, the timing of the next summit is now merely a minor consideration inasmuch as the signatures on the summit document can do little more than set the seal on what can already be sensed, heard and read.

It is that US-Soviet ties are on the move, possibly leading to specific disarmament and arms control agreements and helping to preserve peace.

A clear line extends from the November 1985 Geneva summit via the successful conclusion to the Stockholm conference, on confidence-building measures and disarmament in Europe to President Reagan's address to the 41st UN General Assembly in New York.

The Daniloff Affair, raised again by the US President, doubtless impedes progress toward a summit, but Mr Reagan took care not to make too much play with it at the UN and kept his criticism of Moscow to a minimum.

The substantial disarmament concessions he said the United States had proposed to the Soviet Union in Geneva carried much greater weight.

An agreement now seems feasible on medium-range missiles that for one will not upset the balance and for another hold forth the prospect of the first specific steps toward disarmament being followed by others.

There are further constructive features in President Reagan's proposal to hold talks first on limitation, and later on a total nuclear test ban.

The President's offer to come to terms with the Russians on a 50-per-

cent cut in strategic arms stockpiles is particularly noteworthy, being designed to underscore the credibility of US disarmament policy.

So one can but hope that left-wing Social Democrats and Greens in the Federal Republic who are critical of Mr Reagan will take note of his UN address and abandon once and for all their distorted portrayal of the President as a trigger-happy and power-obsessed leader.

President Reagan went in for plain speaking at the UN General Assembly. He was prepared to reach agreement with the Soviet Union on the wider ramifications of SDI. He showed understanding for Soviet security interests.

But he also expected understanding for his own attitude, which was governed by American security interests and by those of America's allies.

Mr Reagan's speech marks an improvement in the climate of confidence between West and East. His note of moderation is in keeping with the Stockholm conference agreement.

Hopes of a peaceful future for Europe were given a fresh fillip in Stockholm. In a major speech the US President has given them a further boost.

Bodo Schulte
(Nordwest-Zeitung,
Oldenburg, 23 September 1986)

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HOME AFFAIRS

Tax, European, asylum differences lead to separate CDU and CSU manifestos

The conservative parties, the CDU and the CSU, are to go into January's general election with separate manifestos. The CSU, which exists only in Bavaria, where its leader Franz Josef Strauss is State Premier, disagrees with its bigger sister party on questions of taxation, European politics and asylum rights. It is critical of many of the policies of the Foreign Minister, Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

The most over-rated feature of elections are the party manifestos. People read things into them, gather things from them, interpret them and, above all, turn them to their own advantage.

Whether the manifestos of the CDU and CSU tally to the comma or not doesn't really matter.

As the CSU/CDU parliamentary group has always been a bit short on domestic bliss anyway and prominent party personalities have always had good media value, analyses of election manifestos have always provided a lever for provocative discussion.

The role of whoever happens to be Chancellor is more important than the manifesto.

There are no signs that Chancellor Kohl would heed election manifesto promises any more than some other Chancellors like Willy Brandt and Helmut Schmidt.

Are election manifestos superfluous? No, they aren't. But their function is not what many people think.

It was not until 1953 that Konrad Adenauer was able to claim to have a party manifesto worthy of the name, the Hamburg Programme.

It contained nothing which seriously stood in the way of the day-to-day politics of the first Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Gone were the rosy days of Ahlen in Westphalia.

It is surprising that, contrary to the historical development, the claim is repeatedly made that the socialistic Ahlen Programme was a binding programme for the CDU as a whole.

First of all, it was only adopted for the British Zone, and second, the British still influenced the sending of delegates and were accountable to a Labour government in London.

Via the Ahlen Programme the CDU, which first became a national party in Goslar in 1950, would never have been able to be successful in the north of Germany as well as in parts of the South.

Adenauer made sure that an election manifesto was written before every election, but not one of them was drawn up following a discussion between the party's rank and file and its leaders.

Success dictated one part of the text, whereas the other half was an extrapolation of possibilities for the next legislative period.

The basic principles outlined in respective preambles (which were not always termed such) were never really seriously disputed.

Vertical discussion develops when the party leadership gets in a spin or keeps on spitting realities which it is unable to change.

After the SPD reached this detrimental state following three lost general

election campaigns (1949, 1953 and 1957) Herbert Wehner, Fritz Erler and many others, including Gustav Heinemann, forced the party to change its ways.

The result was the Godesberg Programme of 1959, which included a disavowal of the SPD's Marxist connections and a clear declaration of support for the western alliance.

Helmut Kohl was among those who realised that the CDU would have to do the same in a similar position, long before the disastrous election outcome for Kurt Georg Kiesinger, who was Chancellor during the Grand Coalition with Willy Brandt.

The Berlin Programme drawn up in 1968 was not a basic policy manifesto but did provide a new framework.

The CDU was obliged to take to the Opposition benches and, as previously in the SPD, the whole painful programme process had to be reappraised.

In 1978, after seven (!) years of discussion, the first CDU basic policy programme was adopted in Lüdwigshafen.

Willy Brandt showed how little hearing election manifestos have on the politics of Chancellors.

In 1969, for example, the SPD canvassed for the votes of German exiles from the former German eastern territories by promising them a policy which would seek to recognise the German borders as they existed in 1937.

As soon as the votes were won, however, Brandt developed his famous Ostpolitik, which moved in a completely different direction.

This was not illegitimate, but it was embarrassing.

A fear of overloading the budget with a new debt is revealed in the Social Democrats' election manifesto.

This shows that lessons have been learnt: a year ago, the SPD candidate for Chancellor, Johannes Rau, had to do some embarrassing backtracking when colleagues told him his promise to restore all social-welfare cuts by the government could not be financed.

The manifesto presented by Rau also contains many election promises ranging from a children's allowance to tax relief for low-income earners.

And once again the question of finance will be raised on certain items. And the answers will not be satisfactory on all scores.

But the important thing is that financing has played a more important part. With the general election just around the corner the government policy framework of an Opposition party is bound to indulge in election campaign slogans.

The SPD justifies its demand for a fundamental change at the helm of power in Bonn by branding the Kohl/Genscher government as merely representing the interests of the better-off at the expense of the worse-off.

The SPD intends imposing a five per cent surtax on higher-income earners. This is not an incentive for careerism.

The resultant additional tax revenue is to be used to stimulate the labour market.

Rau's number one confidant Matthiesen called the SPD's manifesto a concrete package and the opposite of a department store catalogue.

Chancellors and Prime Ministers usually want to be given enough scope to act once they are given the chance to shape the course of history.

There are limits to what is acceptable within a party. When Ludwig Erhard made efforts to share government with the FDP in 1965 an extremely young opposition in the CDU itself — by no means just left-wingers — had to be pacified.

They were already toying with the idea of a Grand Coalition, which then materialised in 1966.

One of these young rebels at that time was Heinz Franke, today President of the Federal Labour Office in Nürnberg.

Just a few years later the anger of relevant circles in the CDU and CSU over the activities of the Kiesinger government had grown considerably, but the courage to form a coalition with the FDP was lacking.

Since 1969 Helmut Kohl was convinced more than ever that the Republic could only be protected against the "daydreams of the SPD" by an Adenauer-style coalition, Strauss or no Strauss.

It was Kohl who provided momentum for a process of rethinking within the CDU designed to oust the SPD from government in Bonn.

The discussion within the party took on a new quality.

To begin with, it gave the party new heart by introducing greater democratisation.

Second, the process of reorientation set out to implant a future-oriented strategy and sand down anything which seemed antiquated and clerical.

During its Opposition years the party was able to incorporate liberal ideas and thus again became open to opposition.

For a long time CSU manifestos concentrated on Bavaria.

After losing power in Bonn there was a growing national and conservative emphasis.

In 1976 the CSU threatened to opt out of the common parliamentary group with the CDU and set itself up as a federal party, i.e. to take the CSU beyond its Bavarian frontier.

The CSU's right-wing integration campaign cannot be effected so strongly today due to the realities in Bonn.

The CSU often complains vociferously, therefore, if it feels that politics

in Bonn is too weak for Bavarian needs.

The media are paying far too much attention to the fact that the CDU wants to "give its blessing" to its manifesto during the party congress in Mainz at the beginning of October, i.e. before the state election in Bavaria.

Strauss would prefer negotiations after this election. "Fine", one hears the Chancellor say.

Of course, there is bound to be plenty of discussion during coming weeks over the content of the CDU and CSU election manifestos.

Some points will need to be more clearly defined and others shortened.

This will not alter the fact that the CDU has a manifesto which sets out to keep Helmut Kohl in power, and in all probability will.

Jürgen Wahl
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt,
Bonn, 19 September 1986)

Social Democrat policies take canny look at the finances

A people's party, however, which seeks the support of the electoral centre must resort now and again to platitudes. As in the section headed "Future for Everyone", for example, which everyone can interpret as he feels.

The main issue is unemployment. In addition, there is no commitment to a 10-year period for a nuclear energy phase-out.

Rau gives a bit more thought than the party theoreticians to the possible consequences for those employed in the nuclear industry.

The latest headlines on the ignominious sale of the Neue Heimat housing construction group are regarded by Rau as an annoying distraction.

SPD has close ties with the trade unions. The unions are indispensable helpers in an election.

The damage to their reputation may hit Rau's party. Rau dissociated himself from the wheelings and dealings surrounding Neue Heimat.

He hopes the affair will gradually pale into insignificance as an election issue. He may be wrong.

The SPD programme makes no mention of the coalition question. The Greens are simply ignored.

The SPD basically feels that they are superfluous anyway and are hoping to

cut the ground from under their feet by presenting itself as the true environmental party.

The SPD managed to do this during the state elections in Saarland and North Rhine-Westphalia.

This, however, will be much more difficult at federal level.

There is an astonishing lack of information on who might be in Rau's government.

Although the Chancellor himself counts many parts of the SPD election manifesto look like dead letters, since it is difficult to imagine the corresponding minister behind them.

The Bonn government parties are making the most of their opportunities by constantly emphasising the fact that they have Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg as well as Chancellor Kohl.

Rau is forced to accept suspicions that he just hasn't got men or women of the same calibre or that he doesn't really believe that he can win the election.

It is more likely, however, that Rau doesn't want to offend any of his party colleagues by naming names at this stage.

The election manifesto has reaffirmed that Rau wants to reconcile, and not divide, inside and outside of his own party.

Hermann Eich
(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 24 September 1986)

■ INTERNATIONAL

How behind-scenes work helped in Stockholm

DIE ZEIT

The Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe has been a success.

After two and a half years of long and tough negotiations, the Stockholm conference was more successful than anyone had expected a few months ago.

Agreement was reached on a binding arms control package, the first agreement of its kind between East and West (not to mention neutral and non-aligned European countries) since 1979.

It was also the first time in the history of disarmament that the Soviet Union had agreed, without ifs or buts, to inspection of its military activities in Europe.

The veil of military secrecy that in the past has repeatedly caused political mistrust may not have been set aside completely, but it has at least been lifted.

Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher deserves some of the credit. In January 1984 he threw the full weight of his international reputation into the fray to persuade as many fellow-Foreign Ministers as possible to attend the inaugural session in the Swedish capital.

His aim, on the quiet, was to get the Americans and the Russians, Secretary of State Shultz and Foreign Minister Gromyko, back to the conference table.

Talks between the superpowers, who were not on talking terms at the time, did get going again and Herr Genscher has since untiringly followed progress in Stockholm.

Last January he persuaded his French colleague, M. Dumas, to visit Moscow and Washington with him and urge the superpowers to compromise.

Herr Genscher has shown himself to be a shrewd and successful operator in yet another respect: his choice of Klaus Citron to head the West German delegation in Stockholm.

Berlin-born Citron, 57, is a quiet German in his country's diplomatic service. Medium-height, courteous, modest and hard-working, Citron has been associated with arms control since 1974.

He is a patient workhorse and a diplomat whose talent for reconciliation did not go unnoticed in the context of occasional clashes between the Foreign Office and the Defence Ministry in Bonn.

"He was always extremely cautious," a former colleague recalls, "not a man given to striking while the iron was hot."

A German studies lecturer in Italy and France, he learnt how to handle the tools of his trade, diplomacy, on the usual ladder of promotion at the Foreign Office.

He may be said to have passed his journeyman's test with flying colours when he took over the nuclear arms control department at the Foreign Office in 1978.

Soon afterwards he was appointed deputy to the Federal government's chief arms control commissioner. Stockholm has been his masterpiece.

No-one who saw him at the inaugural session in Stockholm two and a half years ago, an unassuming and slightly stooping figure behind the broad and self-confident back of Hans-Dietrich Genscher, will have expected Citron to play more than the limited role of an extra, intelligent and well-meaning thought he might well be.

In his Stockholm years he has far exceeded expectations, although he has neither wanted nor been in a position to vie with the superpower delegates for star billing.

Even now the conference is over he and his fellow-delegates from other European countries agree that no headway would have been made without the Big Two.

Stockholm could only be a success because Moscow and Washington wanted to set a precedent. But Citron has often played a decisive minor role, as is ungrudgingly acknowledged in the corridors of the Stockholm conference venue, the Kulturhuset.

Prussian-educated Citron does not feel he deserves the credit. "You are carried by the weight of the country you represent," he says.

He was pleasantly surprised to find that despite the burden of German history the contribution to peace made by the Federal Republic was acknowledged at the marathon conference proceedings in Stockholm.

Bonn, he says, lent him Herr Genscher's backing and a fine supporting cast of staff.

As many military manoeuvres subject to notification, observation and inspection by the terms of the Stockholm agreement are held in the Federal Republic, the West German delegation inevitably rated special attention in the Swedish capital.

Citron quietly, modestly, frankly and patiently put this advantage to good use. The university teacher in him has always sought to explain his country's views to others; the disarmament in him has invariably kept an eye open for ways of striking a balance.

These are qualities that might not al-

ways be to the benefit of a career in Bonn, but they made a decisive contribution toward his role at the Stockholm conference.

At 178 plenary and countless working sessions and individual discussions extremely unusual negotiations took place, first tortuously and finally at a hectic pace.

Thirty-five states were represented at Stockholm, including every European country but Albania, and all had to be reconciled and to come to terms somehow or other.

The consensus principle applied. Even if only Malta or Luxembourg had refused to agree at the last minute the entire proceedings would have been in vain.

So what mattered was to build bridges to the East, to the non-aligned states and to one's own allies, and this is Citron's forte.

His task was to gain and spread confidence, never to tire of seeking solutions to the numerous obstacles to agreement and to do so as unobtrusively as possible so as to rule out any possibility of others losing face.

There was no lack of obstacles. Initially the views of East and West were virtually irreconcilably opposed. Moscow, where foreign policy was still presided over by Mr Gromyko, demanded a ban on first use of nuclear weapons, the creation of nuclear-free zones and formal renunciation of the use of any kind of force.

Transparency

The West, in contrast, called mainly for greater "transparency" of military activities in East and West so as to reduce the risk of conflict arising from miscalculation.

If gloomy Mr Gromyko were still in charge of Soviet foreign policy progress at Stockholm might well have been limited to the exchange of irreconcilable proposals.

But his successor was appointed and the first summit meeting between President Reagan and Mr Gorbachov gave the delegations an added fillip.

The Soviets soon came to realise that they could not constantly belabour the world with one new disarmament plan after another while at the same time stonewalling at the conference table.



Klaus Citron... shrewd choices (Photo: dpa)

In July the experienced head of the Soviet delegation, Oleg Grinevsky, suddenly referred to "effective and appropriate verification." In mid-August he went on to announce Soviet readiness to accept "one or two inspections a year of the territory of each state."

A fortnight later the chief of the Soviet general staff, Field-Marshal Akhromeyev, visited Stockholm in person and said foreign inspectors could visit Soviet territory to the Urals by land and air, although aerial inspection was to be on board Soviet aircraft only.

"I have been sent here because my government feels the time has come to bring the conference swiftly and purposefully to a successful conclusion," he said.

Citron roused Soviet ire by saying, immediately after the Soviet announcement, that inspectors ought to fly a board neutral aircraft manned by neutral crews.

As the conference came into the home straight this clashed seemed to be the crucial point at issue, but Washington suddenly waived its objections and differences were resolved.

The terms agreed after two and a half years of talks are:

- From January 1987 notification of manoeuvres and troop movements in Europe involving over 13,000 troops or 300 tanks must be given at least 42 days in advance.
- Observers from all countries that are parties to the agreement must be invited in good time to attend manoeuvres involving over 17,000 men.
- An annual calendar of military engagements is to be exchanged.
- Three times a year every country must submit to inspection, with no objections permitted, this being a breakthrough from which other negotiations seem sure to benefit.

Citron feels the results aren't at all bad and diffidently, on this point as on others, suggests the following lessons to be learnt for future negotiations:

- The crucial point is not to set too high a target. Arms control, he says, can only be achieved gradually, or so it seems.
- In common with many fellow-delegates at Stockholm he is convinced the negotiations only came to a successful conclusion because a deadline had been set.

Delegations had to spend the final weekend adding the finishing touches before quitting the hospitable Kulturhuset, thenceforth to be dedicated solely to the arts.

As delegates finished their deliberations...

Continued on page 5

■ PERSPECTIVE

An attempt to uphold some Prussian cultural values

The Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, or Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation, was set up in Berlin 25 years ago.

Its silver jubilee warrants a closer look at both the foundation and its political significance.

The events that led up to its establishment reflected early, controversial efforts in the Federal Republic of Germany to uphold past values and harness them for the future.

After the Second World War and the abolition of Prussia by the Allied Control Council for Germany Prussia's cultural and other assets were entrusted to the Länder and local government areas where they were at the war's end.

Legal arrangements for the transfer were made by the military governments of the respective occupation zones and were by no means uniform.

But no distinction was drawn between assets previously held in areas that had formed part of the state of Prussia and assets evacuated during the Second World War from Prussian museums in Berlin and Potsdam.

This state of affairs was soon felt to be unsatisfactory by, among others, members of the Parliamentary Council which drew up Basic Law, the 1949 Bonn constitution.

Article 135 of Basic Law rules that Federal legislation may be promulgated in respect of the assets of a Land that no longer exists in view of the overriding interests of the Federal government.

This special provision must be seen in the context of the otherwise overriding responsibility of the Länder for education and the arts in the Federal Republic.

In 1950 the Federal government drafted legislation providing for the

transfer to the Federal government of at least the cultural heritage of Prussia.

At that time a balance had yet to be struck between the Federal and Land governments, which jealously guarded their privileges and promptly vetoed this proposal.

To ward off any future moves by the Federal government the Länder that saw themselves as successors to the state of Prussia agreed with Berlin to set up a temporary administration of the erstwhile Prussian cultural heritage.

Baden-Württemberg, Berlin, Hesse, Lower Saxony, North Rhine-Westphalia, Rhineland-Palatinate and Schleswig-Holstein declared the administration and upkeep of the Prussian cultural heritage to be a joint duty.

They agreed to return to Berlin the libraries and other collections evacuated from universities and theatres and castles in Berlin and Potsdam.

In other respects the Länder in question saw themselves as continuing to be Prussia's natural legal successors and accordingly entitled to handle Prussian cultural assets as they saw fit.

Berlin and the Federal government continued to feel this arrangement was unsatisfactory, and in 1957 a Bill was presented to the Bundestag providing for the transfer of ownership of Prussia's cultural assets to a foundation to be set up in Berlin.

The Federal government and any

Länder that might be interested were to be entitled to share responsibility for the foundation. But this Bill also failed to satisfy the Länder.

The Bundesrat ruled that the Bill required its approval, which it failed to give, arguing that the provisions were unsatisfactory.

Legal opinions were sought by the Federal President, Theodor Heuss, who then went ahead and enacted the Bill, which had been approved by the Bundestag.

Baden-Württemberg, Hesse and Lower Saxony appealed to the Federal Constitutional Court, which ruled against them on 14 July 1959, basing its judgment on two main points.

The idea that the former Prussian cultural heritage could only be administered jointly by all successor-states to Prussia was erroneous, the court found, because Prussia had been abolished once and for all and there was thus no reason why a new legal custodian should not be appointed.

Besides, "the Prussian cultural heritage, inasmuch as it is covered by the foundation endowment, has served a purpose extending well beyond the bounds of the former state of Prussia at least since the foundation of the Reich in 1871."

"It was a purpose that gave the Prussian collections in Berlin an all-German, nationally representative character."

"Reuniting collections split and evacuated during the war and the collapse of Germany, adding to them, looking after them and upholding the traditions of the former Prussian collections is thus an all-German task."

After this Constitutional Court ruling the Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation was set up, with Federal government participation and that of Baden-Württemberg, Berlin, North Rhine-Westphalia and Schleswig-Holstein.

The course events took is outlined here in such detail as an example of how seriously, albeit in pursuit of different interests, efforts were made to come to terms with the major cultural achievements left behind by the state of Prussia.

The aim, "under the aegis of Basic Law," as former Berlin Arts and Science Senator Werner Stein put it, was to put

this heritage to good use in present and future art and education policy.

The various powers that be in the Federal Republic, sometimes jointly, sometimes at odds with other, eventually arrived at a solution that can now be said to have proved a longstanding success.

That in itself is remarkable inasmuch as the dispute took place at a time when preoccupation with history, especially the history of the state to which the Prussian cultural heritage owes its origins, was unpopular.

Today, as commemorations mark the death bicentenary of Frederick the Great, and especially the address by Federal President Richard von Weizsäcker, have shown, we have a much less biased and critical relationship to the history of the state in question.

History in general is more highly valued, not as a collection of examples suitable for emulation but as participation in the past with a view to learning more about ourselves.

Yet the tortuous route by which we have found our way back to this point of view, after suppressing so much of both recent and past history, seem to have generated an inferiority complex here and there.

What other explanation accounts for the oaths and ads that are heard when a statue of Frederick the Great is replaced on its pedestal in East Berlin and the GDR takes greater care of the historic architecture of Prussia and other vanished states because the system and ideological groundwork of the GDR is suddenly no longer felt to be a sufficient foundation for tradition?

Some view this trend with alarm, others note with a note of approval that in connection with the Spartan reality of the GDR and its restoration of the past something along the lines of a romantic, attractive "Old Germany" might take shape.

Anyone who feels this way inclined must in all honesty go one step further.

The GDR is "Old Germany" in that it retains authoritarian and far from romantic rule and gives no rein in political reality to the few tendencies toward democracy in German history.

This is not the viewpoint from which we want to approach the achievements and values of the past.

We don't need to hide our light under a bushel when it comes to what we have done, in a democratic system and often in opposition to the spirit of the age, by way of preserving what is worth preserving.

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 14 September 1986)

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Exhibits stored in museums and libraries

Like many other institutions in the Federal Republic of Germany the Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation in West Berlin was set up "pending fresh arrangements following reunification."

Its statutory task is to maintain, care for and add to the Prussian cultural assets with which it has been entrusted on behalf of the German people.

It started work on 25 September 1961, twenty-five years ago. Its silver jubilee was commemorated at a ceremony in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin attended by Federal President Richard von Weizsäcker.

The foundation currently comprises 15 museums, five public libraries and

the Secret State Archives, plus a staff of 1,600 and a DM150m-plus budget funded equally by the Federal and Land governments.

The former museum buildings, some badly damaged during the Second World War, were mainly in East Berlin. Much of the stock was evacuated from Berlin too.

So the foundation's initial preoccupation was with setting up, and fitting out exhibition facilities, including the 1971 annexe to the storehouse of the Museum of Ethnology in Dahlem, Berlin.

This complex now houses the foundation's art and sculpture galleries, the collection of etchings, part of the ethnology museum and the museums of East Asian, Islamic and Indian art.

Other Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation facilities include the Berlin Nationalgalerie, designed by Mies van der Rohe and opened in 1968, and the Staatsbibliothek, designed by Hans Scharoun and opened in 1978.

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 22 September 1986)

■ BOSCH ANNIVERSARY

The firm that makes widgets for every human need

Robert Bosch was far-sighted both as a human being and as an entrepreneur, said Bonn President Richard von Weizsäcker. He was speaking at a ceremony in Stuttgart to mark the 125th anniversary of the birth of Robert Bosch and the 100th anniversary of the firm he founded. Bosch set new standards in social attitudes, efforts to promote international understanding and in the field of charity, said von Weizsäcker. Bosch today has a payroll of about 140,000. Von Weizsäcker described Bosch as one of the pioneers of the eight-hour working day, which he introduced in 1906. He pointed towards Bosch's impassioned support for the idea of a united Europe as a sign of the far-sightedness of the company founder who died in 1942.

A famous advertising slogan tells us that "the world is full of Bosch". A more accurate slogan would be "the world is full of Bosch".

Anyone who drinks germ-free milk in cartons, drills plug holes in the wall, listens to the radio while driving, opens the garage door via remote control, watches TV or makes a phone call is surrounded by products from the electricals firm Bosch. The world and above all the Federal Republic of Germany owes this fact to the company's founder, Robert Bosch, who was born 125 years ago on 23 September, 1861.

The company he founded, the Robert Bosch GmbH, will be 100 years old on 15 November this year. It has a world turnover figure of DM21bn.

The double anniversary was celebrated in Stuttgart in the presence of the President of the Federal Republic of Germany, Richard von Weizsäcker, and 2,000 West German and foreign guests.

Bosch was always a special and unconventional firm which stood out from the rest.

It quietly and almost unassumingly consolidated and reinforced its position on the market.

It was led by striking personalities, including Robert Bosch himself and the post-war chairman of the company's supervisory board, Hans Merkle.

Modern cars are hardly imaginable without Bosch products.

The Stuttgart-based company almost monopolises certain market segments, for example, electronic fuel-injection devices.

Customers are not too pleased about this predominance, especially the car industry.

It all began on 15 November, 1886, when Robert Bosch returned to Stuttgart after his years as a journeyman, during which he visited the USA, to set up a workshop in the Rutebühlstrasse.

Apart from the founder himself the firm consisted of a mechanic and an apprentice.

In a newspaper advertisement in the *Beobachter* in 1887 it offered its services for "telephones, telegraph systems at home, the professional testing and installation of lightning conductors, the installation and repair of electrical appliances and all work connected with precision engineering".

During its first year of business the firm had a turnover of DM5,000.

As early as 1887 the trained precision engineer Bosch produced his first ignition device for gas engines.

By 1891 the sale of ignitions for local

engines accounted for the lion's share of turnover.

An order for a magneto ignition system for a French de Dion-Bouton three-wheeler in 1897 was a major breakthrough for the company.

Robert Bosch was an effective support for the up-and-coming car industry.

The high-tension magneto ignition system from Bosch together with the sparking plugs provided, the first-ever self-contained system enabling the manufacture of high-revving engines. Bosch ignitions had sparked.

Cosmopolitan-minded Bosch soon turned his attention to foreign markets.

In 1898 he set up a firm in Britain, in 1899 in France, Belgium and Austria-Hungary, and in 1909 in the American town of Springfield.

The flourishing enterprise was keen on both geographical and product diversification.

Bosch produced a wide variety of products for the car industry, ranging from the famous Bosch horn to indicators, headlights, generators and starters.

The development of fuel-injection pumps for the internal combustion engines invented by Rudolf Diesel during the early 1920s was a decisive step for the company's success. It paved the way for high-speed diesel engines.

In 1927 Bosch was the first manufac-

turer in the world to start series production of diesel fuel-injection pumps.

Mechanical petrol fuel-injection pumps for cars were first produced after the war and the electronically controlled fuel injection system Jetronic was launched in 1967.

Today Bosch is a world enterprise. It has firms in 130 countries; its foreign plants account for 54 per cent of turnover; and it employs 140,000 people worldwide.

The fact that 5,300 jobs were created in 1985 in the Federal Republic of Germany alone shows how dynamic the company is. Another 4,000 jobs are expected this year.

An already legendary anecdote shows how proud Bosch workers are of "their" firm.

During a quarrel with his playmate a young lad allegedly said: *Halt dei Gasch, mein Vater schafft beim Bosch* (No more tosh, my dad works for Bosch).

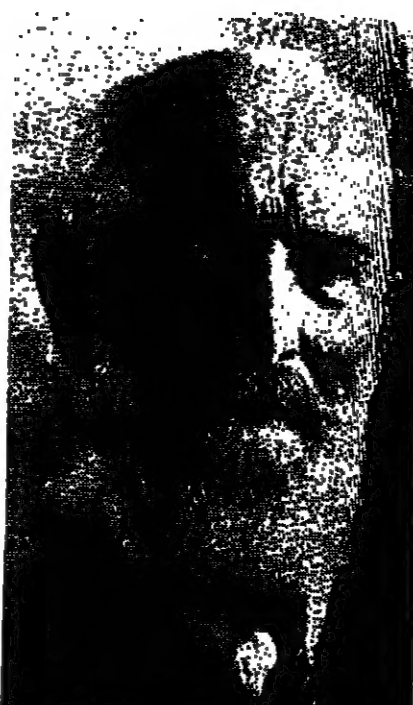
Company founder Bosch always showed that he had a heart for his workers. In 1906 he introduced the eight-hour working day, convinced that it was the most "economically efficient and acceptable" solution "to maintain the ability to work".

In accordance with his last will and testament the charitable Robert Bosch foundation was set up in 1964.

This foundation owns roughly 90 per cent of the company shares and thus of company profits too.

It has provided money to promote health and welfare work, educational activities, international understanding, art, cultural activities as well as research and teaching in the arts and sciences.

Bosch is still primarily involved in the production of car accessories, which ac-



He Ignited It... Robert Bosch (Photo: Archives)

count for approximately 55 per cent of company turnover.

Yet the company has also edged its way into other markets.

Bosch is everywhere, from the refrigerator to the car radio (Blaupunkt), from the handyman's drill to medical electronics, from the most basic TV camera to the most modern communication systems, from the packaging machine to satellite technology.

The company's ideas have always helped ensure greater economic growth.

Gert Goebel (Mannheimer Morgen, 23 September 1986)

Success recipe remains unchanged

ogy and progress can no longer be taken for granted.

Over the years it has become all too clear that industry not only produces prosperity, but also overexploits natural resources.

Cars provide mobility, but they also pollute the environment; new production techniques often make human labour superfluous.

The risks associated with new technologies have become more obvious and their opportunities are either seen in more relative terms or denied altogether.

Both technology experts and politicians were not prepared for this swing in public opinion.

All too often their reply to the concern about the consequences of technological developments has been a complacent "Chip, Chip, Hurray!" mentality, which presumed that the euphoria of the early years of industrial expansion would return if it was invoked long enough.

As a result the rift between those who feel that every engineer is a narrow-minded technocrat and those who equate any doubts about the blessings of progress with an uncalculated prophesy of doom has widened.

As early as the 1930s Robert Bosch made efforts to reconcile these extremes.

The solution to modern-day needs, he wrote during the Great Depression, was not a return to a non-industrial

stone age, but the "wise application of machines" to allow everyone to participate in the fruits of progress.

Although this may sound fanciful and naive fifty years later anyone who studies the life and achievements of Robert Bosch will soon discover that his demand had practical intentions.

Only those, for example, who believe that the problems of an automotive society can be solved by simply doing away with cars are really naive.

What is needed is the proper use of technology to make sure that cars do not pollute the environment, use up less energy and are made safer.

Anyone who wants to renounce new technologies will inevitably be faced by the problems of previous technologies.

What is more, it would be tantamount to a death blow for the economy of an industrialised country such as the Federal Republic of Germany to simply opt out of international competition.

The pressure of international competition makes it absolutely essential to seek success by finding new products, new production techniques and new markets.

This pressure alone, however, cannot adequately justify the risks accompanying the introduction of new technologies.

A paramount objective must be to create the preconditions for the satisfaction of the elementary needs of the world population such as food, good health and work.

A world which will soon have between six and eight billion inhabitants needs technological progress.

When Robert Bosch set up his company support for new technologies was taken for granted.

Today, the reasons for this support must be explained and justified.

A renunciation of technological progress was and is no real alternative. *Uwe Vorkötter* (Stuttgarter Zeitung, 23 September 1986)

■ TRANSPORT

75th birthday of the first tunnel under the Elbe

Kaiser Wilhelm was most impressed when he visited Hamburg 75 years ago to see a civil engineering project unique in Germany in its day.

The Elbe Tunnel linking St Pauli and "mainland" Hamburg with Steinwerder and the docks was just short of completion.

On 7 September 1911 it was then opened to pedestrians, who walked the length of its two 426-metre (1,398ft) tunnels about 16 metres (52ft 6in) below the bed of the River Elbe.

They were duly impressed yet by a month later when the tunnel was opened to vehicular traffic the Elbe Tunnel had become virtually a matter of course for the thousands of dockers and shipyard workers who used it daily.

Hamburg celebrated the 75th anniversary of the smaller of the two Elbe

In the early years of the century it took Hamburg a while to start building the first Elbe Tunnel, proposed back in 1872 by Senator Versmann as a combined road-and-rail tunnel.

In 1872 Wilhelm I had just become Kaiser and in Hamburg port extensions were fast taking over Steinwerder, previously mainly agricultural in character.

The tunnel was to cater for pedestrians, vehicles and rail traffic, but Senator Versmann's plan failed to gain acceptance. Ferries continued to give sterling service.

There were differences of opinion between Hamburg and neighbouring Altona, in those days Prussian, and other main north-south traffic arteries, such as the Nordelbe Bridge, had just been built.

In the years that followed industrial development increased by leaps and bounds in the Port of Hamburg, which was extended further and further south.

Ferries were soon unable to provide enough services. Workmen and port operators were increasingly dissatisfied, especially as boating to and from work was no fun in winter.

Yet no-one in authority seriously ventured to back tunnel plans until the turn of the century. Repeated consideration was given to alternatives such as bridges.

But bridges would need to be towering edifices. Large sailing ships as tall as

church steeples would need to sail under them.

The idea of a twin tunnel did not gain gradual acceptance until the early years of this century, reference being made to the Clyde Tunnel in Glasgow.

On 7 November 1906 the project was given the go-ahead and on 22 July 1907 work began at the southern end of the proposed tunnel, on Steinwerder.

It was hard work. The Steinwerder shaft soon struck water. At the northern end, in St Pauli, there was less trouble, with no water seepage through the clay soil.

Workers slowly tunnelled their way under the river, moving five to six feet a day, falling incidents.

Incidents included a cave-in on 24 January 1908, when water and sand rushed into the workings. But no-one was hurt and work was resumed three weeks later.

Dangerous fires twice broke out, but the most serious problem was a complaint known as caisson disease that affected tunnel workers.

"Due to decompression at too fast a pace," wrote Helmut Eddelbüttel of the Port works authority, "nitrogen bubbles occur in workmen's joints, blocking blood vessels and causing great pain."

Seventy-four workmen were seriously

ly injured and 615 suffered minor injuries of this kind, he noted in his comprehensive report.

Their work was hard by any standards: Sixty men in three shifts worked round the clock in an atmosphere so humid as to make conditions particularly tough.

On completion the tunnel was to prove a great success. There were next to no upsets until the Second World War, when bomb raids hit Steinwerder hard.

The shaft building on the St Pauli side was also damaged and not provided with a new copper roof until 1961.

Dredging to keep shipping lanes clear later posed problems when the tunnel roof seemed likely to be too close for comfort.

Deepening the lane from 10 to 12 metres was felt to pose safety problems, so the tunnel was closed for over a year in 1982 while its roof was reinforced from the river bed.

But the 75th anniversary celebrations went ahead without a hitch. Hamburg people hold annual celebrations to mark the port's "birthday," so this year was a welcome opportunity to celebrate twice.

When the Port of Hamburg was set up, nearly 800 years ago, is shrouded in mystery. The exact date is not really known. But history definitely records the date on which the Elbe Tunnel was opened.

Seventy-five years later, on 20 September 1986, Hamburg's Senator Lange led a motorcade from St Pauli to Steinwerder in a veteran car, a 1911 Renault Landulet.

Karsten Plog

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 18 September 1986)

Better safety key to future of the motorcycle, says minister

Two-wheelers still fascinated young people, said Bonn Transport Minister Werner Dollinger, opening this year's Ima, the International Cycle and Motorcycle Fair, in Cologne.

The trade disagrees. Young people, it fears, are growing tired of bikes. Between 1980 and 1985 the number of buyers aged under 20 declined by over 70 per cent.

Yet 1,300 exhibitors from 35 countries took part in the Cologne trade fair, held from 17 to 22 September.

Motorcycle sales have plummeted 40 per cent in three years and the trend is worldwide. But manufacturers say the rot has been stopped. New registrations this year seem likely to equal last year's 80,000.

In the long term, Herr Dollinger said, the motorcycle could only hope to remain an attractive mode of transport if accident figures were reduced to a reasonable level.

He hoped better driving instruction and new driving licences would improve matters. Motorcycle licences have been graduated, with successive age and engine limits, since April and new driving licences are to be issued provisionally from November.

Road safety also stood to benefit from design improvements to new models.

Regulations are to be introduced in Bonn by the end of the year to phib the latest category of moped to be launched in Germany next spring.

It is a motorised bicycle with a top speed of 20kph (12mph) for which helmets will not be compulsory.

Average bicycle prices are DM370-DM410, having increased with quality, for which demand has increased correspondingly.

Retail prices have for years failed to cover costs, so despite surplus capacity prices are to be increased by five per cent next year.

Herr Dollinger is strongly in favour of the pushbike as an alternative to motor transport — provided safety is improved.

The number of cyclists killed on the roads was down by nearly 60 per cent on 1970, he said, but efforts to make roads even safer for cyclists must be redoubled.

dpa/vwd

(Hantoversche Allgemeine, 18 September 1986)



Cleanliness is next to... The maker has high claims for the efficiency of this catalysator. Exhibit at Cologne fair.

(Photo: dpa)

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EXHIBITIONS

Frankfurt gallery confirms its brash character

Allgemeine Zeitung

The inaugural exhibition at Frankfurt's new city-centre art gallery, Schirn, is as brash and self-assured as the gallery is in appearance, having elbowed its way into the historic Altstadt.

"Prospect 86" is claimed to be the most comprehensive exhibition of contemporary art ever held in Frankfurt. Its aim, and the gallery's, is to lend a further boost to the city's reputation as an art metropolis and not just a commercial and banking centre.

The idea was not born in the bosom of the unloved new building; it was the brainchild of Peter Weiermair, curator of the nearby Kunstverein.

But the Kunstverein was too small, both financially and in exhibition area, to handle such a project on its own, and Schirn curator Christoph Vitell was persuaded to back it too.

The city of Frankfurt contributed over DM500,000 toward the DM850,000 or so it will cost, so there was ample scope for a full-scale show.

Weiermair was in sole charge, enjoying both municipal cash and the unswerving confidence of the city fathers.

He made full use of his extensive contacts with galleries and artists in Europe and the United States, booking work fresh from the easel and specially commissioning concepts for complicated hanging areas.

Essentials agreed from the outset included limitation to painting and sculpture and to work two years old at most and, programmatically and controversially, proof that neo-Expressionism has parted company with contemporary art.

Weiermair sets the outlook for art from the second half of the 1980s in a reversion to historic means of expression and their re-evaluation in a detached and analytical quotation.

No trace remains in the 3,600 square metres of exhibition space in both buildings of the glaring self-portrayal by artists such as Hödicke, Zimmer, Bach, Salomé, Middendorf, Penck, Baselitz or Lüpertz that has predominated for the past 10 years.

Prospect, the title of the exhibition, is interesting in several respects. It refers, in the context of painting, to a realistic portrayal from a central perspective.

In economic German it means a clear statement of financial circumstances. In advertising it means clear and concentrated product presentation.

Weiermair also deliberately refers to similar exhibitions held, with similar objectives, in Düsseldorf in the 1960s and are presumably intended to be continued in Frankfurt now.

The Kunstverein's curator would also like his exhibition to be seen as a connecting link between the Venice biennale and Documenta in Kassel, more modest in size and presentation but not in what it has to say.

The centrepiece of the exhibition is the seemingly endless length of exhibition hall in the body of the new gallery, which is here first used to maximum ef-

fect without conveying an impression of claustrophobically limited space.

The glass facade looking out onto the Römer, Frankfurt's mediaeval city hall, is uncluttered, allowing daylight to flood into the building.

The ongoing trend toward monumental formats has prompted hanging successive sizes of painting on partition walls arranged at right angles to the longitudinal axis.

At the end of the main hall one of the few established artists to survive Weiermair's strict selection procedures, Frank Stella, is on show.

Stella's spatialisation of colour, which has preoccupied him since the 1960s, now extends into the third dimension in two seemingly Baroque, gaily coloured box-reliefs.

The most striking features reflected by the exhibition include the growing trend toward renewing acquaintance with constructivism, albeit in an ironically broken manner and in thoughtfully playful combinations.

Abstract Painting with Standing Figure, by Donald Baechler of Switzerland, is a case in point.

Formal clarity

So are Jonathan Borowsky's statue Space Head at 2,968,932, Mark Kostabi's oil painting 15.31 Hours, Julian Opie's wall objects, Peter Schuyff's paintings, Joel Shapiro's wooden statues, José Maria Sicilia's artistically overgrown Mondrian paraphrases and Philip Taaffe's geometrical patterns.

Younger generation painters are particularly keen on the formal clarity of classical forms, as exemplified in works such as Edward Allington's Aphrodite Debased.

Then there is Bertrand Lavier's 1/9, a tin can ensconced on a quasi-antique pedestal, Claudio Parmiggiani's In the Direction of Byzantium and work by Luigi Stosa.

Rob Scholte also deals smirkingly with historical material in his Vale of Tears, a painting alternating between Tudor architecture and graffiti. Much

Continued on page 11



Bathing Nymphs, 1917, Ellasemus. On show in Cologne.

(Photo: Museum Ludwig)

Time-related parallels, not to mention simultaneous impulses

The inaugural exhibition at the Ludwig Museum in Cologne, entitled Europe/America - The Tale of an Artistic Fascination Since 1940, is in keeping with both the dimensions of the new museum and the main emphasis of the Ludwig collection.

It may not be a new topic in itself. Many exhibitions have dealt with it over the past 40 years and it has been the subject of repeated debate.

Many of these exhibitions have shown that the fascination here limited to contemporary art and artists is really much older.

Rafael Jablonka, who shares with Siegfried Göhr responsibility for the Cologne exhibition, begins his wide-ranging catalogue commentary with the ill-fated encounter between Cortez and Montezuma.

At the end of the 19th century American art sought to free itself from European influence and become free, independent and American.

But then, in 1913, the famous Armory Show was held in New York, featuring the main masters of modern European art.

That put paid to good intentions. Reservations about experimental art in Europe were cast to the winds.

A wide-ranging influx of modern art ideas set in, followed after 1933 by



European artists themselves, including Josef Albers, Lyonel Feininger, Moholy-Nagy, Fernand Léger, Max Ernst, Masson, Mondrian, Lipschitz, Zadkine, Tanguy and others.

The Cologne exhibition begins with the post-war situation.

Its declared aim is not to prompt an art history approach.

The emphasis is not on successive styles, schools or directions; neither influence nor dependence is to be underscored (although both inevitably come to light).

The aim would seem to be a portrayal of more or less coincidental, time-related parallels, simultaneous impulses, tendencies, means of expression and principles of design on both sides of the Atlantic.

But this claim can be made for any exhibition dealing with trends in Western art since 1940.

How thoroughly the exchange is a reciprocal one is shown, for instance, by the fact that some of the most important purveyors of new ideas from America aren't Americans.

Albers came from Bottrop in the Ruhr, Hans Hofmann was a Bavarian, Lindner, who is not on show in Cologne, was from Hamburg.

Duchamp was French, de Kooning Dutch, Gorky Armenian, Rothko Russian.

Yet comparisons and similarities as seen in Cologne also testify to honest disputes and differences in affinity, as for instance between Franz Kline and Soulages, between Pollock and Dubuffet, between Wols and Guston.

No expense was clearly spared in presenting an impressive Euro-American panorama. Few major names are missing.

Glaring gaps in the museum's own stock that would otherwise be bound to stand out in these inaugural weeks are astutely offset by works on loan.

That may have been the main, or most important reason for holding the exhibition.

Eo Plunien

(Die Welt, Bonn, 18 September 1986)

LITERATURE

Exhibition of forgeries that made history

Köln: Stadt-Anzeiger

Many famous writers, politicians, diplomats, historians, popes, temporal rulers and well-known media organisations have been victims of amateur or professional forgers.

Now an exhibition of historical forgeries has been assembled from the stocks of court and monastery libraries.

The exhibition, 'Literary Forgeries of Modern Times', has been organised by the Bavarian State Archives and the Monumenta Germaniae Historica Society.

The latter has also convened an international congress, the first since the society was founded 170 years ago, to enable researchers to elaborate the foundations for a comprehensive analysis of forgeries during the Middle Ages.

Man has forged ever since he learned to write. A book entitled *Abhandlung über Fälsche*, which was allegedly written by Goethe and published in 1864, was actually written by a bookseller from Halberstadt.

And one of Goethe's literary rivals already published *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre* in 1821 after he found out that the real Goethe was working on a book with this title.

As early as the 13th century there was a thriving forgery workshop in Akkon (Palestine), which also completed large-scale orders.

Even under Innocent III in papal Rome a gang of literary forgers had set up business in the curial administration despite the fact that this pope was a particularly unrelenting punisher of this crime.

In many cases he ordered that the right hand of the forgers be chopped off or that they be executed.

Many forgeries, however, were not discovered at all or only at a later date. Monks and abbots themselves were often the forgers or their accessories.

Their aim was to free the monasteries of secular interference and re-establish a divine order.

Many forgeries had far-reaching historical implications. The temporal power of the pope, for example, and the es-

tablishment of the Pontifical State are based on the famous Gift of Constantine.

During the Inquisition it was classed as heresy to doubt the authenticity of this document.

Even the pope's right to convene Vatican councils is based on a fake document, which was only officially acknowledged as such in 1983.

A forged letter to the British Communists from the head of the Comintern Sinovjev in 1924 was partly responsible for the fall of the British government.

The underlying motive for forgeries was to become famous and respected. In many cases forgers hoped that fake historical "discoveries" would guarantee recognition as scholars.

The pictographs painted by the French abbé Domenech allegedly depicting prehistorical symbols from America are representative of this forgery genre at the exhibition.

A desire for admiration, personal rivalry and political intrigue also motivated many historical forgeries.

Ignoring the begging letters and the dispensations of indulgence during the Middle Ages, economic motives did not play a major role for forgeries until the 19th century.

The professional "scribes" in Munich feel that the forgeries committed for ideological reasons, such as the forgery of Friedrich Nietzsche's unpublished works by his sister or the anti-Semitic *Protokolle der Weisen von Zion*, are particularly criminal.

Forgery researchers have shaken or even destroyed the foundations of many

historical claims, famous works or proud monuments.

Their comparison of source material or cross-textual comparisons have been backed by a testing of materials and electronic data processing techniques.

For centuries the Bavarian state brewery Weihenstephan ranked as the "oldest brewery in the world".

Just a few years ago researchers proved that the document on which this claim was based (dated 1291) was in fact drawn up in the 17th century.

Among the most famous literary forgeries at the Munich exhibition we find the ancient Germanic Ura Linda chronicle, which was held in high regard by the Nazis, the *Königinhofer Handschrift* (The Königinhof Manuscript), which was regarded for a long time as the oldest Czech national epic, the lyrics of the Gaelic bard Ossian, which were frequently cited by Herder and Goethe, and the alleged speech to the president of the USA by the Red Indian chieftain Seattle, which many Greens still swear by today even though the literary embellishment of the speech is a proven fact.

The latest product in the long history of literary forgeries are the Hitler diaries by Konrad Kujau.

The exhibition organisers managed to secure the loan of two books together with the forged seal from the court exhibits' room in the Hamburg district court.

To enable a comparison the exhibition presents some genuine notes Hitler made for a speech in 1944 and his Nazi party membership book issued on 1 February, 1927.

The number 1 in the membership book, however, is an official forgery, since Adolf Hitler was in fact the seventh person to join the Nazi party in Munich.

Karl Stankiewicz
(Köln: Stadt-Anzeiger,
Cologne, 16 September 1986)

Library-space crisis might force students to take to the trains

Scientific libraries in Germany are labouring under a problem: lack of space. Proposals have now been put forward for a rationalisation of space.

One result is likely to be that tomorrow's student might be forced to follow in the footsteps of yesterday's: go and look for books in whichever part of the country they are instead of, as today's students do, sit tight and wait for the books to come to them.

The proposals have been submitted by the Science Council in Cologne. They envisage more than just removing literature which can be classified as dispensable or outdated from the stocks of the 58 university libraries. Also wanted is a reform of the stocking system.

One suggestion is that books which are more commonly required be stocked in all university libraries, whereas those which are less frequently in demand, are more valuable or of which there are only a few copies should be concentrated in just a few libraries.

At the moment it looks as if the libraries in Hamburg, Munich, Berlin and Frankfurt as well as at two universities in Baden-Württemberg and one in North Rhine-Westphalia (Bochum) stand the best chance of becoming library metropolises.

Anyone studying in Aachen or Trier, Oldenburg or Osnabrück, Kiel or Wuppertal, therefore, is going to have gre-

ter problems finding scientific source material.

As long as the postal services remain efficient most of the material can be ordered via the inter-library loan system.

Reports are circulating, however, that there is no intention of systematically and fundamentally extending this system.

The students, it seems, are expected to find their own solution to the problem.

The Science Council feels that some of the scientific "yields" of their efforts are pretty meagre anyway.

So if the book won't come to the student, the student is going to have to go to the book.

German studies students from Oldenburg, for example, will have to make their way to Göttingen early on in their studies and to Hamburg or even Munich later on.

The Aachen students will have to travel to Cologne or Bochum.

It almost looks as if traffic planners rather than education planners came up with the idea.

It cannot be ruled out that the next generation of students will commute in the intercity trains between Hamburg and Munich, foraging just like the generation of their grandfathers and grandmothers just after the war.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
für Deutschland, 23 September 1986)

Writer is still intellectually vibrant at 90



Caused a row . . . Käthe Hamburger.
(Photo: Mathias Michaelis)

The most spectacular book Käthe Hamburger has written is probably *Logik der Dichtung* (Logic of Literature).

It was published in 1956, just after she had returned to Germany after many years in exile in Sweden.

This provocative work was also her post-doctoral thesis, and it caused a controversy in scientific circles.

The fact that someone openly subjected the literary genre of belles-lettres to an objectively deducible linguistic analysis, claimed that it is learnable and thus transformed it into philosophy, meant a head-on clash with the prevailing conviction that philosophy was in fact gradually transforming itself into literature.

Frau Hamburger was not disconcerted by criticism.

The cool rationality with which she approached her studies of literature proved productive and triggered a whole series of fruitful and original analyses in the grey area between poetry and science.

Examples are the examination of Rilke's relationship to Edmund Husserl's teachings and between Novalis and the world of mathematics.

Frau Hamburger found a great deal of inspiration in the works of Friedrich von Schiller and Thomas Mann.

She felt mentally akin to Thomas Mann's highly philosophical and astutely planning temperament.

Her Schiller dissertation (1922), her book *Thomas Mann und die Romanik* (1932) and the works she wrote on Schiller and Thomas Mann during her Swedish exile years provided a wealth of thought-provoking ideas.

Her attempt in 1962 to elaborate a stereotype of the tragedy *Von Sophokles zu Sartre* and her latest work on *Das Mitleid* (Compassion) were less convincing.

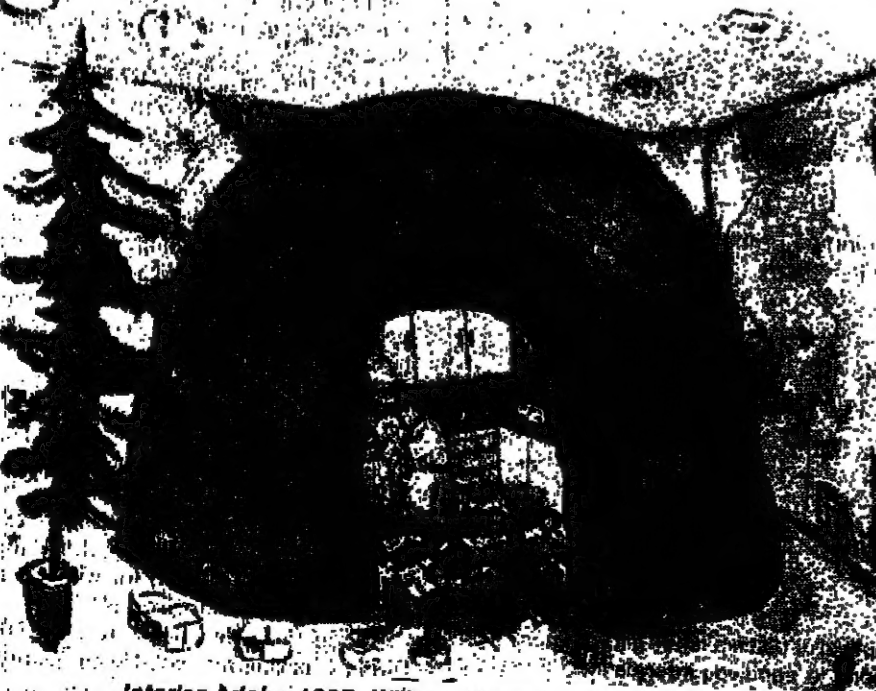
They are marked by exaggerated historicism and abstraction from emotional reality, even though the consistently sovereignty of style is admirable.

Frau Hamburger, the banker's daughter from Hamburg, always knew how to gather her thoughts and bring her lively intellect to paper.

During her academic activities in Stuttgart she was a shining example to numerous students and colleagues.

Still brimming over with intellectual vitality she celebrated her 90th birthday on 20 September.

Günter Zehm
(Die Welt, Bonn, 20 September 1986)



Interior Adobe, 1985, William Wegman. Oil on canvas

(Photo: Frankfurter Kunstverein)

David Frankfurter once wanted to have nothing to do with Germans — yet for almost exactly 20 years, he has been associated with German-Israeli youth exchange schemes.

He met his first young German workers, students and teachers from Witten in the Ruhr, at an Israeli youth village in 1966.

They were frank, enthusiastic and totally different from what he had expected.

Frankfurter, born in Czechoslovakia in 1923, emigrated to Palestine at 16, just before the German invasion of Prague. He wanted nothing more to do with Germans.

Yet since that day in 1966 he has worked as a trade unionist, as a member of the Israeli Labour Party, as welfare attaché at his country's embassy in Bonn and then back home in Israel on exchange schemes.

German-Israeli youth exchange is flourishing, he says in the glaring midday heat at the long table where German visitors are conferring with Israeli organisers.

People like him deserve much of the credit for overcoming strong resistance and launching what has become an extensive youth exchange programme. About 3,000 young Israelis a year visit the Federal Republic and about 7,000 young Germans visit Israel, with financial backing from the Federal government.

Many more young Germans visit Israel on their own, with sports clubs, choirs or

■ YOUTH EXCHANGE SCHEMES

Looking back on 20 years of Germans on the kibbutz

and of the historic lesson that crimes against the Jewish people were not inevitable but committed by people, and that people could have prevented them."

She would like group leaders to be given special training to ensure that youth exchange with Israel does not come to be seen as no different from exchange schemes with other countries.

There were, she said, times when young Germans arrived in Israel with too scanty a knowledge of history, only to return home shocked.

Israel's third generation in contrast is at times tired of its own history. Unlike Jewish emigrés, young Israelis learn only the worst aspects of Germany and German history.

They may not be hostile but they are detached. It is as though they wonder "why it has to be Germany" or "do I have to have a German as a friend?"

Some Israeli parents asked these questions too when their children planned a school visit to Cologne this spring.

But when Arie Eldar, history teacher at Tel Aviv High School, made a head count he found there were many more applicants than he had places available.

"It was far more encouraging than we had been expecting," he says. A further visit it is to be arranged next year.

Young Germans are frequently encountered in Israel. They feel the time they spend there is important for them, even though it may often differ from what they had been expecting.



Voice of youth: Bonn Family Affairs Minister Rita Süßmuth with member of an Israeli youth exchange programme. (Photo: dpa)

The Federal Youth Orchestra was in Jerusalem. The concert was a great success. Young musicians aged 14 to 18 spent 12 days rehearsing with Israeli conductor Gary Bertini.

They saw next to nothing of Israel as a result, but "I'd do it again any time," says Cornelius, an 18-year-old cellist from Cologne.

Anne-Katrin had different expectations of her visit. A 19-year-old Bochum school-leaver, she came with a Protestant youth group because she had long been interested in the Middle East and was keen to know what life in or under the Third Reich must have been like.

She was expecting to work hard on a kibbutz but hadn't expected to end up working in a bread factory packing potato chips for export to America.

She found no kibbutzniks of her own age. They were either doing military service or on holiday.

Yet she was delighted. She felt she had learnt a great deal in conversation with ol-

der Israelis and learnt at least a little about Israel today.

Meeting volunteers from other countries was fine and, as she says: "The work itself is an experience."

Karl-Heinz Pastors, 33, a Ruhr clergyman, says there aren't many countries you can get to know so intensively as Israel.

There aren't many countries where people are so frank and friendly toward foreigners and where you are spoken to in the street and invited to visit people.

He didn't visit Israel with a sense of guilt, but he was keen to show Israelis that Germans today are different.

This was his third visit with a student youth group. Everyone who has visited Israel is keen to come again, he says.

At a time when young people can readily make their holidays a combination of, say, English lessons and tennis, or hiking and learning French in the south of France, deciding to visit Israel instead is often a clear decision.

Some visitors may come as mere tourists or holidaymakers, but most are politically aware. They are young Germans who are aware of minority rights and problems, only to come across the Arab minority in Israel.

A few youth volunteers from Germany spend their civil (as opposed to military) service helping Arab citizens of Israel.

Continued on page 13

Plan to step up contact with Israel

change grants totalling DM3.2m a year. The Länder, local authorities and private individuals provided as much again.

Young Israelis who take part in exchange visits to Germany are exempted from the exit tax that nearly brought exchange to a halt in 1983.

Youth exchange must stay alive and well, Frau Süßmuth said. No routine must develop. So the German Youth Institute in Munich and the Herietta Szold Institute in Jerusalem were to review arrangements.

Today's young Germans and Israelis differ from their parents in their view of history.

Frau Süßmuth ended her six-day tour of Israel by visiting German volunteers doing social work there as an alternative to conscription.

A tourist trip took her to the Dead Sea. She had earlier visited hospitals and youth centres.

(Bremer Nachrichten, 6 September 1986)

■ MEDICINE

The exciting news about the state of human health

How many people would say they felt fully satisfied, had no cause for complaint and were, in a word, healthy? Most would qualify the statement even if they felt healthy.

Even stopping to think about one's own well-being is bound to trigger doubts or, at least, an uneasy conscience.

We all well know how many health hazards beset us: environmental toxins, lack of exercise, bad eating habits, mental strain at work and in our private lives and alcohol and nicotine abuse.

The fact of knowing what harmful repercussions modern living has and how fateful "civilisation diseases" can be is enough to make anyone feel less than in the pink of health.

Or, as the late Paul Luthi, a critic of school medicine, put it: "Health is not the absence of illness and pain; it is also freedom from fear of possible danger and disease. A healthy person doesn't stop to think about being healthy."

Yet people are forced in many ways to stop and think about their health. Doctors warn them to bear health hazards in mind and run their lives accordingly.

Enough books of advice along these lines have been written to fill entire libraries. But the efficacy of such appeals seems to depend on more than the frequency with which they are repeated.

Reminders may regularly trigger waves of jogging and diets, but the fitness craze, aimed at peak performance, has prompted doctors to warn against overdoing it.

When doctors refer in increasing number to it being time for a "new health awareness" they mean it is time to reconsider what we mean by health.

The WHO's statutory definition, a state of total physical, mental and social well-being, sounds little short of utopian. Yet it corresponds to what Germans have been led to believe is their right to expect.

Health is first and foremost a service experts are trained to provide society with. There is not an illness physical or mental for which the medical market, with an annual turnover of DM200bn, does not have some treatment or other at the ready.

Health would appear to be available in return for either a medical certificate, a prescription form or ready cash. It is felt to be a statutory right to which the individual is entitled.

The medical profession is partly responsible for this passive view of health having thrived. Diseases that used to be incurable, from tuberculosis to meningitis, are now either routine or at least curable.

Medical apparatus often denigrated as inhuman, from cardiac pacemakers

to artificial organs, helps to reduce suffering and prolong lives.

On the borderline between life and death it may also, of course, raise serious ethical and moral issues. Artificial insemination — test-tube babies, for instance — is a case in point.

Medical progress is reflected in ever longer life expectancy. Someone born in 1910 could expect a lifespan of 45 years; someone born in 1975 can, actuarially speaking, expect to live to the age of 75.

Does this not imply that we are growing steadily healthier? Yes, up to a point. The number of incurable diseases has declined but more and more people are dying of a handful of "killer complaints" for the lethal effect of which they are largely themselves to blame.

Four out of 10 deaths are due to heart attacks, lung cancer, cirrhosis of the liver, diabetes and traffic accidents.

Many patients can rightly hope new drugs and improved treatment will help them, but that cannot be all there is to say on the subject.

A "new health awareness" must take into account individual responsibility for the lives we lead and for our own well-being.

We must, for instance, abandon comprehensive and unfulfillable expectations of medical prowess to which we incline as a result of the utopian concept of health.

We must set aside any idea of the absolute authority of medical expertise inasmuch as it prompts us to entrust to the medical profession the treatment of each and every minor ache and pain.

People must learn to feel healthy when they are capable, under their own steam, of tackling certain upsets that may affect their well-being in such a way as to feel neither sick nor in need of help in the process.

Dagmar Deckstein
(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 18 September 1986)

No operation, no risk, no pain — the gallstone smasher is here

The first series-produced equipment to smash gallstones by shock-wave treatment is to be marketed next spring.

The device will cost DM2.5m and make surgery unnecessary. It works along the same lines as the kidney stone smasher, generating artificial shock waves that are "mirrored" into the patient's body.

Provided the mirror is set at exactly the right angle the stone will be at the focal point and can be smashed by the bundled shock waves aimed at it.

The main difficulty in developing a shock-wave device to treat gallstones was that gallstones, unlike kidney stones, are hard to identify by means of X-rays.

Continued from page 12

Others are keen to make contact, only to find that Israelis are sensitive on such matters.

Elke, a 21-year-old student from Weil, has been working with handicapped and old people in Israel for several months. She has made many friends. "You simply have to forget any ideas of being something special as a German," she says.

She admits to having occasionally worked in Arab-Jewish projects, but doesn't volunteer the information.

When Frau Süßmuth told her Israeli hosts she would be pleased to see more young Arabs take part in exchange schemes her request was courteously received.

Ulla Plog

So the new device, jointly developed by Dornier Medizintechnik of Munich and Grosshadern Clinic, Munich, uses ultrasonic waves to locate stones.

It looks like an operating table to which the shock-wave generator is attached. An arm with two ultrasonic sounding devices attached to it extends over the table.

Patients are treated under anaesthesia. Treatment takes from an hour to an hour and a half.

Experience so far has shown gallstones to be smashed into such finely-ground powder that what is left of them is expelled from the body in the natural manner.

About 70,000 people a year undergo gallstone surgery in the Federal Republic. The advantage of ultrasonic and shock-wave treatment is self-evident: no operation, no attendant risk, no resulting pain.

The new device was tested on its first human guinea pig in February 1985. Fifty patients have so far been successfully treated.

Grosshadern Clinic and the Sauerbruch Clinic in Wuppertal have concentrated on treating low-calcareous cholesterol stones, smashing up to three small stones at a session.

Specialists are now convinced patients with several larger stones can be treated in this way too.

Robert Lutz
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 19 September 1986)

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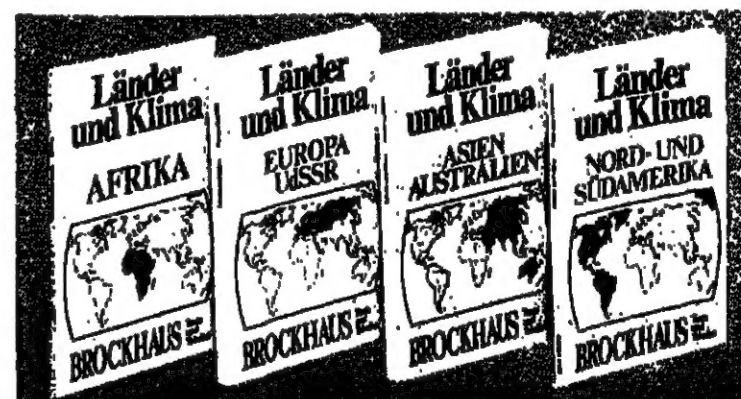
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